

Message Text

PAGE 01 TOKYO 08288 201238Z

50

ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-06 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02

INR-07 IO-10 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03

PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00

DODE-00 NSC-05 BIB-01 ACDE-00 ERDE-00 NRC-05 EB-07

/107 W

----- 112279

P R 201012Z JUN 75

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1050

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

USLO PEKING

IAEA VIENNA 553

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 8288

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: DARM, PINT, PFOR, JA

SUBJ: GOJ/LDP SHELVE NPT

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

REF: TOKYO 7940

SUMMARY. GOJ/LDP LEADERSHIP DECIDED JUNE 19 TO SHELVE NPT FOR CURRENT DIET SESSION. DECISION WAS PROMPTED BY LIKELY INABILITY TO OBTAIN UPPER HOUSE PASSAGE WITHIN SHORT TIME REMAINING. NON-SUBSTANTIVE REASONS WERE PROBABLY MORE IMPORTANT THAN SUBSTANTIVE REASONS FOR DECISION TO SHELVE, ALTHOUGH IT IS TRUE THAT FAVORABLE CONSENSUS ON NPT HAS NOT YET EMERGED. THIS DOES NOT MEAN, HOWEVER, THAT ANYONE EXCEPT A HANDFUL OF ULTA-NATIONALIST HOTHEADS IS GIVING ANY SERIOUS THOUGHT WHATSOEVER TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS OPTION HERE. END
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 TOKYO 08288 201238Z

SUMMARY.

1. GOJ AND RULING LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (LDP) LEADERSHIP DECIDED JUNE 19 TO SHELVE NPT FOR CURRENT SESSION. DECISION WAS

PROMPTED BY PROBABILITY THAT PARTY LEADERSHIP WOULD BE UNABLE TO OBTAIN UPPER HOUSE PASSAGE BEFORE END OF CURRENT SESSION JULY 4. RATHER THAN RISK UPPER HOUSE FAILURE AND BE FORCED TO BEGIN DELIBERATIONS ANEW IN LDP AND LOWER HOUSE, LEADERSHIP DECIDED TO PRESERVE PRESENT PROGRAM AND CARRY OVER LOWER HOUSE DISCUSSION TO FUTURE DIET SESSION.

2. DURING PAST FEW WEEKS, PRIMIN MIKE AND, MORE PARTICULARLY, FONMIN MIYAZAWA HAVE GONE FAR TO MEET OPPOSITION CONCERNS ABOUT INVIOABILITY OF JAPAN'S THREE NON-NUCLEAR PRINCIPLES AND OTHER NUCLEAR-RELATED ISSUES IN ATTEMPT TO REGAIN OPPOSITION PARTY SUPPORT FOR NPT. WITH DSP AND KOMEITO ABOARD, OPTIMISM CONCERNING RATIFICATION PEAKED JUNE 17 SHORTLY BEFORE BADLY SPLIT JSP LEADERSHIP DECIDED TO OPPOSE RATIFICATION. DESPITE PROTRACTED NEGOTIATIONS, THAT DECISION STUCK AND LDP LEADERSHIP WAS LEFT WITH LITTLE CHOICE BUT TO SHELVE NPT.

3. FONOFF HAS ALREADY EXPRESSED ITS CONCERN THAT OTHER NATIONS, PARTICULARLY SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES, MAY TAKE THIS AS A SIGN THAT JAPAN HAS NOT REJECTED NUCLEAR OPTION. IT PLEDGED CONTINUED EFFORTS TO OBTAIN PROMPT PASSAGE IN A FUTURE DIET SESSION. DISARMAMENT DIVDIR KAZUHARA TOOK INITIATIVE IN CONTACTING EMBASSY TO EXPLAIN RATIONALE BEHIND DECISION NOT TO MOVE NPT NOW, AND TO REPORT THAT PRIMIN MIKE HAD EXPRESSED "DETERMINATION" TO PUSH FOR RATIFICATION NEXT SESSION.

4. LDP LEADERSHIP ALSO DECIDED JUNE 19, DESPITE PRIMIN MIKI'S APPARENT OPPOSITION, TO ABANDON EFFORTS TO PASS ANTI-MONOPOLY BILL, ANOTHER OF PRIMIN'S SIX "IMPORTANT" LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS.

5. COMMENT. MORE IMPORTANT REASONS BEHIND SHELIVING OF NPT HAVE LITTLE TO DO WITH MERITS OF TREATY ITSELF. PERSONAL DIFFERENCES AMONG LDP LEADERSHIP PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE. FOR EXAMPLE, A LEADING MIKE FACTION MEMBER WAS SEVERELY CRITICAL OF LAST YEAR'S EFFORT BY TANAKA AND OHIRA TO OBTAIN NPT PASSAGE: THIS WAS NOT FORGOTTEN. MOREOVER, MANY AMONG TOP PARTY LEADERSHIP DID NOT WANT MIKE TO LOOK "TOO GOOD." SECOND FACTOR WAS CONTINUING CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 TOKYO 08288 201238Z

RECALCITRANCE OF LDP HAWKS, PARTICULARLY IN UPPER HOUSE WHERE PARTY HAS LESS CONTROL. DESPITE RELATIVELY SMALL NUMBER OF ADAMANTLY ANTI-NPT HAWKS, THERE WAS NO ASSURANCE PARTY LEADERSHIP, ITSELF OFTEN ACCUSED OF BEING LUKE WARM ON NPT, COULD GARNER CONSENSUS. CURRENT EXTRAORDINARY DIVISION WITHIN JSP WAS THIRD FACTOR. JSP LEADERSHIP, PROFOUNDLY SPLIT OVER THIS AND OTHER ISSUES AND UNDER JCP ATTACK, APPARENTLY FELT IT COULD NOT CHANCE GOING ALONG WITH NPT APPROVAL WITHOUT FIRM ASSURANCE OF SUCCESS. FINALLY, THERE WAS TACTICAL ASPECT: GIVEN LACK OF ASSURED SUCCESS, IT BECAME IMPORTANT TO AVOID IMPRESSION OF DEFEAT AND TO PRESERVE PRESENT SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS OF NPT THROUGH PARTY AND LOWER HOUSE MACHINERY.

6. AT SAME TIME, DECISION TO SHELVE NPT REFLECTS ACCURATELY PRESENT LACK OF FAVORABLE CONSENSUS IN JAPAN. THOUGHTFUL JAPANESE ACROSS POLITICAL SPECTRUM WERE SURPRISED AT RAPID INDOCHINA COLLAPSE, ARE NEWLY CONCERNED ABOUT JAPAN'S SECURITY AND UNCERTAIN ABOUT LONG RUN US RELIABILITY. THESE DEEPLY-FELT CONCERNS COMBINE WITH LINGERING DISSATISFACTION OVER STATUS WORLD ATTACHES TO JAPAN AS SOLELY ECONOMIC SUPERPOWER. THIS IS NOT TO SAY JAPAN WILL DEVELOP NUCLEAR WEAPONS, OR INTENDS TO SOME DAY. AT THIS POINT, ONLY A HANDFUL OF ULTRA-NATIONALIST HOTHEADS ADVOCATE THAT JAPAN DEVELOP NUCLEAR WEAPONS OR EVEN SERIOUSLY CONSIDER OPTION.

7. WITH JAPAN-KOREA CONTINENTAL SHELF TREATY BOTTLED UP IN COMMITTEE, JAPAN-CHINA FRIENDSHIP TREATY HUNG UP IN NEGOTIATION, NPT SHELVED AND ANTI-MONOPOLY BILL ALL BUT ABANDONED, IT NOW IS POSSIBLE FOR ONLY TWO OF PRIMIN MIKI'S SIX "IMPORTANT" LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS TO PASS CURRENT DIET SESSION. DESIPTE THIS, HOWEVER, THERE IS NOW GENERAL AGREEMENT HERE THAT PASSAGE OF ONLY

ONE BILL WOULD ACHIEVE NORMAL STANDARD OF DIET SUCCESS AND PASSAGE OF TWO WOULD SIGNIFICANTLY BETTER THAT RECORD. THUS, WITH ELECTION REDISTRICTING BILL LIKELY TO PASS, AND POSSIBILITY POLITICAL FUNDS BILL WILL TOO, PRIMIN MIKE MAY DO SIGNIFICANTLY BETTER THAN HIS PREDECESSORS, BUT WE WILL HAVE TO WAIT UNTIL JULY 4 END OF SESSION TO KNOW FOR SURE.
HODGSON

CONFIDENTIAL

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 26 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: NPT, MEETING AGENDA, CENTRAL LEGISLATURE
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 JUN 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975TOKYO08288
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D750215-0685
From: TOKYO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750699/baaaafos.tel
Line Count: 137
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 07 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <07 APR 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <16 SEP 2003 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: n/a
TAGS: PARM, PINT, PFOR, JA
To: STATE INFO MOSCOW
SEOUL
TAIPEI
PEKING
IAEA VIENNA
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

Type: TE

Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006